REPORT RESUMES

ED 016 510 PS 000 235

INDIAN COMMUNITIES AND PROJECT HEAD START. SUMMARY AND OBSERVATIONS IN THE DAKOTAS AND MINNESOTA, TOGETHER WITH AN APPRAISAL OF POSSIBILITIES FOR A HEAD START PROGRAM AMONG THE POTAWATOMI INDIANS OF KANSAS.
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REPORT NUMBER OEO-520 PUB DATE 15 SEP 67
EDRS PRICE MF-$0.50 HC-$2.68 65P.

DESCRIPTORS- *AMERICAN INDIANS, COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT, FAMILY ENVIRONMENT, *POVERTY PROGRAMS, COMMUNITY INFLUENCE, COOPERATIVE PROGRAMS, COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT, PARENT PARTICIPATION, BILINGUAL STUDENTS, HETEROGENEOUS GROUPING, HEAD START, POTAWATOMI INDIANS OF KANSAS

THE HOMOGENOUS AND HARMONIOUS INDIAN BAND HAS VANISHED, IF IT EVER EXISTED. THE CONTEMPORARY INDIAN COMMUNITY IS AS HETEROGENEOUS AND DIVIDED AS ANY MORE ORDINARY COMMUNITY. OEO PROGRAMS ARE SOMETIMES MISDIRECTED BECAUSE THEY ARE ORGANIZED FROM THE ASSUMPTION THAT ONE INDIAN CAN SPEAK FOR THE TOTAL COMMUNITY. TWO REPORTS CONCERNING HEAD START PROGRAMS AMONG INDIANS WERE MADE. ONE REPORT CONCLUDES THAT, JUDGED BY ORDINARY SCHOLASTIC STANDARDS, THE HEAD START PROGRAMS OBSERVED AMONG THE INDIANS OF MINNESOTA AND THE DAKOTAS WERE HIGHLY SUCCESSFUL, WITH FEW EXCEPTIONS. IN THE SECOND REPORT, INVESTIGATING THE POSSIBILITIES AND PROBLEMS OF INITIATING A HEAD START PROGRAM, THE AUTHOR CONCLUDES THAT SUCH A PROGRAM WOULD NOT BE SUCCESSFUL WITH THE POTAWATOMI INDIANS OF KANSAS. (C.O'D)

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INDIAN COMMUNITIES AND PROJECT HEAD START

SUMMARY

and

OBSERVATIONS IN THE DAKOTAS AND MINNESOTA

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AN APPRAISAL OF POSSIBILITIES FOR A HEAD START PROGRAM AMONG THE POTAWATOMI INDIANS OF KANSAS

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A research report written for the U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity under the provisions of Contract No. OEO-520, date 15 July 1965.

Date of report: September 15, 1965

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION

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SUMMARY

Community Participation - Background

Many of the programs aimed at assisting the American Indians have been misdirected because they assumed that Indians were homogeneous and that one Indian could speak for his fellows and so insure their participation and cooperation -- that, in short, chiefs could commit their followers, that interpreters could clearly portray the attitudes of those ignorant of English, or that progressive "mixedbloods" could represent the interests of conservative "fullbloods". While the Office of Economic Opportunity programs of the present day are premised on involvement of the total community, in actuality they are failing to secure it inasmuch as they assume or allow the assumption that Indian tribal councils can speak for or accurately transmit the beliefs and feelings of Indian mothers, or that the acculturated "Uncle Tomahawk" in his clerical or bureaucratic guise can really represent the humble and impoverished as he participates in conferences or commissions, or that the clique or faction that controls the Indian community organization (and so monopolizes the available jobs) will consult the subordinated cliques in the design of a Head Start Program. The problem of gaining community participation is not diminished and is usually exaggerated when White persons or organizations benevolently interested in Indian affairs intervene on the assumption that they can accomplish the task better than the community can itself. In all these cases the Indian or non-Indian worthies in control believe or assert that they are meeting the requirement of community participation by holding a few community meetings after all the plans are securely frozen and by presenting to the handfuls that attend some sales talk on the merits of the program.

Before elaborating the above statements, we should like to emphasize that, as judged by ordinary scholastic standards, the Head Start programs we observed were with few exceptions highly successful. Especially when we consider the haste with which these programs were initiated and the meagre facilities and modestly trained personnel normally available to these impoverished areas, the results -- as compared to conventional schools -- were excellent. Moreover, in addition to the many benefits being enjoyed by children of preschool age, we should note that other individuals in the community were profiting by employment and that the community as a whole was better off because of the influx of goods and services. However, O.E.O. and its projects, such as Head Start, were designed to acheive more than the conventional and transient benefits of social welfare programs, and it is toward the achievement of these more ambitious goals that we have tailored the following discussion.

The homogeneous and harmonious Indian band has vanished (and may never have existed), and the contemporary community is as heterogeneous and divided as its larger urban counterparts. Even using such simple sociological criteria as religious affiliation and years of schooling achieved, the typical Indian band spans a surprisingly wide range. Among the Oglala Sioux of Pine Ridge are members of the Roman Catholic, Episcopalian, Latter Day Saints, Pentecostal, and Native American churches; the same people include persons who have completed but three grades of schooling as well as others who are college graduates. Even the range of income, or standard of living, is socially great, for as compared to the family that is destitute that which has some steady income and a snug cabin is comfortably situated, while the family where several members have federal employment is positively wealthy. Under these circumstances, the representation in a project of some part of the community does not imply understanding or acceptance by the population as a whole.

In the case of Head Start programs it is especially important to bear in mind that Indian communities maintain much of the aboriginal and pioneer division of labor by sex. The persons who are most knowledgable about young children and most influential in their guidance are women -- mothers, grandmothers, aunts, whereas men usually have but a small role in regard to the younger children. Moreover, patterns of sociability follow the same division by gender, so that matrons discuss the upbringing of children with other women and seldom with manfolk. It is the women who are knowledgable and responsive to the difficulties of the young at play, in the primary grades, or in Head Start programs, and it is they who must be significantly involved if the Head Start program is to become more than another of the multitude of programs designed by a federal bureaucracy and launched against the Indians. Yet the very style of federal operations and the exigencies of budgets of personnel and money make it difficult to involve any of the lowly in the planning, and among those least likely to be involved are the mothers and other womenfolk.

Yet, if community participation is essential for the success of many kinds of programs (such as Head Start), it can also be highly uncomfortable for the administrator. The interests and concerns initially voiced by the Indian parents may have little apparent relevance to those of the administrator, and the parental conception of the proper division of labor between themselves and the administrator is likely to be quite other than his. In particular, school administrators have complained to us that as Indian parents have become involved in school affairs, they have often insisted on reviewing in painful detail grievances arising from disciplinary cases and, even more troublesome, have sometimes complained about the "meaness" of teachers, whom the administrator has felt obliged to defend. With Head Start and similar programs, the initial interest displayed by the community had usually centered about jobs and related perquisites and has often eventuated in complaints of favoritism in hiring. Concerning these kinds of issues all that needs to be said is that they are signs of a healthy community: the arbitrariness of institutional power does need to be checked, even if the authority finds the restraint to be uncomfortable. In the matter of the patronage represented by jobs or the erection of community buildings, we have little counsel of a direct nature, except again to remark that the interest in partaking of the political and economic pie is healthy and sane. Moreover, given the scarcity of reservation employment and given the national shortage of fully-qualified teachers, we do feel impelled to offer the following suggestion: might it not be far better to advise Indian communities that they could (if they wished) plan their centers so as to reduce the number of qualified, professional teachers while diverting that money to increasing the number of the local staff who are partially qualified by having some college education. Team teaching seems peculiarly suited to the operations of a child development center, and the presence on the staff of so many local persons in responsible positions would be encouraging to educational aspirations.

Community Participation - Techniques

If the community is to interest itself more broadly in Head Start policy, then it needs to be encouraged; phrasing genuine alternatives -- such as those concerned with the staffing of the centers -- and setting them before the local folk, while allowing them some days and some privacy for debate and discussion, and then making sure that the voice of the majority is indeed heard and heeded, this surely is an effective way to enlarge community participation. Some cautions need to be added. We should, for example, point out that traditionalist Indians prefer to withdraw from a gathering rather than declare themselves publicly to be in the negative on an issue, and accordingly administrators should be extremely careful about taking the voice of the handful who may attend a meeting as representing the wishes of the absent Indian community. Moreover, following the opinions of the small but vocal minority who have attended may set a pattern of abstention by the majority from participation in the project. Some experienced Indian politicians are quite unscrupulous in their use of Robert's Rules of Order and can by this manipulation effectively exclude the remainder of the audience from voicing its wishes. Especially early in the program, it may be necessary to go to great lengths in polling sentiments in order to convince Indians that their voice is indeed important.

Once one is acquainted with the life of Indian communities, one can discern a surprising number of issues, usually decided in terms of the conventions of the greater society or by administrative fiat, that might better have been left to the community. Not only would community decision heighten the involvement of the parents in the Center activity but it is quite likely to facilitate some unexpected improvements in operation. Let us briefly outline some of the issues that have occurred to us as we inspected various Head Start centers.

(1) What should be the schedule of sessions? Most Indian communities have a cycle of social and ceremonial activities, such as powwows, and these often conflict in their timing with the rigidity of the conventional teaching schedule. Administrators then complain about lack of parental concern about attendance, when the parents might with equal justice complain about the rigidity of scholastic schedules.

(2) What should be the languages of instruction? In most of the communities we visited there were some persons who were interested in maintaining the native Indian language and who were inclined to favor the introduction and use of that language within the curriculum of the school and of the Head Start Centers. Usually, other persons were opposed or unsure about this proposal, since they regard the learning of English as a necessary skill for the securing of employment. Meanwhile, the educators themselves -- to the extent that they knew of or had considered the issue -- usually regarded it as out of the question because of their own ignorance of the native language.

Yet, as the Carnegie Cross-cultural Educational Project (University of Chicago) has demonstrated among the Cherokee, it is possible to introduce the native language within an otherwise conventional school curriculum, and the side benefits in involvement of conservative parents and pupils can be very significant. Accordingly, the question of the native language and its place within the program of Head Start activities is another issue that might well be raised for community decision.

(3) What other native skills and crafts are worthy of incorporation within the curriculum of the Center is another issue. Having ourselves heard some excellent Indian singing and watched some wonderful Indian dancing and then shortly thereafter seen Center teachers leading their charges through dreary routines of music, we ourselves would be inclined to propose that the Centers enlist the assistance of Indian men in leading singing and dancing. And, in like vein, we would suggest that some attention be given to incorporating other Indian artistic expressions, such as the beadwork so beautifully being executed by Chippewa and Sioux. Again, these are issues to be decided by the community, but they need to be raised by those administering the program so that the local folk can perceive that there are matters to be discussed and weighed.

(4) How should the local Head Start program be described and presented to the public? As we note in the cases of the projects at Rapid City and Red Shirt Table, much resentment was bred among the local folk by programs and newspaper stories which they felt to be degrading and untrue. That kind of publicity could well antagonize from participation in the program persons whom it would be valuable to have included. Yet, given the difficulty of controlling the kinds of stories the news media relate, all that can be done is to make sure that the accounts given the press by the administration of the local project do represent what the local folk wish to have said; and so again here is an issue to be brought to the community for discussion and decision.

Indian Poverty - A Problem for Indian Communities

Since the passage of civil rights legislation, there has been a tendency to regard the Indians as simply an aggregate of poor people, lacking any distinct individuality. Administrators and welfare workers tend to assert that it is useless sentimentalism of anthropological mythology to talk in terms of "Indian cultures," when, so they insist, there is only "reservation culture", a species of the culture of poverty. Furthermore, they contend that granting recognition to Indians as specific communities runs the risk of violating civil rights legislation and the provisions of the U.S. Constitution. Now, disregarding the latter contention as being a better issue for debate among lawyers versed in the complexities of Indian treaties and Indian legislation, there is an important sense in which the contention of these critics is true -- on the pragmatic level. For insofar as there is today an "Indian problem" it is the problem of Indian poverty, of little political power, and of low social status. The "Indian problem" is thus akin to the "Japanese problem" of the West Coast before the recent war, or to the "Negro problem" of the South before the recent civil rights struggles, or to the various ethnic problems that have characterized the eastern seaboard (the Irish, Italiam, Jewish, Puerto-Rican problems, and so on). In all these cases, the spokesman for the dominant socio-political strata contended that the problem rested in the peculiar cultural practices of the subordinate minority, whereas the course of further development exposed the fact that the real problem was the lack of power and wealth of that minority. Once they had attained various forms of power and status within the broader society, these groups found that they did not have to apologize for or regard as a "problem" either their retaining of traditional practices or their instituting forms of community organization.

So far, then, we are in pragmatic agreement with those who criticize the emphasis on Indian culture in analyzing the "Indian problem". Indian culture is not the problem; but Indian poverty is a problem. However, where we differ with these administrators, welfare workers, and other critics is in assessing the significance of Indian culture and society for programs of Indian betterment. Insofar as any ethnic, religious, or minority group has raised itself above poverty and adapted itself to our urban society, it has required a collective effort and a collective struggle; it has not required a dissolution of social bonds with their fellows but rather the strengthening of these. By the same logic, Indians will require more and better social solidarity, rather than less, and if the example of other ethnic groups is any guide, then Indians will create this solidarity about what they perceive to be traditional Indian symbols and values.

The notion that Indians can be benefited by compulsorily "integrating" them into programs with local Whites is a delusion, and a very pernicious one, of the order of believing that -- in the absence of the might of the federal government and of the militant civil rights organizations -- Negroes in the Deep South would be benefited by compulsory integration into programs with local Whites. For in both cases the Whites would simply capture the organization to serve their own interests. Without effective organization to present his viewpoint, the Indian (and the Negro) will simply be subjected to further harassment by Whites who think they know what is best for him.

Many people born as Indians have assimilated into the society about them, and this disappearance is usually regarded as a "success" by the administrative or benevolent agency that may have conspired to assist this process. Yet, there is by now some evidence to indicate that the effort to assimilate Indians, to integrate them into the White community and to dissolve their identity via the acids of education and retraining, that this process may in fact be contributing far more to the creation of a deracinated proletariat -- a faceless urban poor -- people without identity or hope. If this is so, those who are interested in assisting Indians to rise from poverty might well desist from their bureaucratic warfare against Indian communities and instead encourage Indians to organize in the forms of their choice. The deracination of Indians into proletarians is concealed behind the enthusiasm for the occasional Indian who dissolves into the general urban middle class; besides, removing Indians from federal rolls is regarded as a positive accomplishment by those who administer the federal budget, and when these deracinated individuals appear among the urban poor, few are concerned about their ethnic history. On the other side, Indian communities suffer from the fact that the successful person -- he who makes good in the general urban environment -- is no longer defined as an Indian and no longer preserves any ties to the Indian community. Under these circumstances, Indian communities are robbed of persons who might be leaders, or intermediaries between the traditional folk and the greater society, or, at least, models of success.

The sociological literature is voluminous on the role of ethnic and religious minorities within the U.S. and it abundantly confirms the notion that for most persons adaptation to urban society was via collectivities, rather than as disparate individuals. Italians, Irish, Jews, Poles, and so on, each attempted to reconstitute within the urban environment a miniature of their village life within the old country. The notion of traditional Indian culture may be an anthropological myth, but an even grosser fallacy is the notion that Indians can rise above poverty and adapt to urban society by being deprived of their right to maintain an Indian society and a sense of Indian identity.

PINE RIDGE

In the past, Pine Ridge has been subjected to a multitude of federal and other plans for community betterment. While the overall target of these plans has seldom been realized, so that the large maass of Sioux has remained impoverished, the plans have had important effects. Generally, they have ameliorated conditions by providing some employment and related economic activity; and, as a more long-run effect, they have contributed toward diversifying the reservation population and increasing the social and economic distance between the more traditional "Country Indians" and those more urbanized "Mixedbloods" who have managed to secure a greater share of such benefits as steady employment. Most of this planning has occurred for, rather than by, the Indians who were the target population, and when Sioux have been brought into the discussion, it is the more urbanized types who have stepped forward and "spoken for the Indian". The Country Indians have not been consulted and have anyway been poorly informed, and the plans for the betterment of their communities have failed to raise them out of poverty.

As of our visit in July-August, the various Office of Economic Opportunity programs at Pine Ridge were following the familiar course outlined above, except for a change of agencies and actors. Design of projects and application for funds was being spearheaded by the Tribal Attorney, a person of energy, benevolent concern for the Indian, and marked political influence via the Association on American Indian Affairs. A Community Development Program had come into existence, whose direction had been turned over to a man who had resided in the area for many years and had been active on many organized programs for community welfare. The attitude of this director is symbolized by the fact that, despite his long residence in the community and his occupational status as liason man, he pointedly refrains from participating in the social life of the Indian folk and remains ignorant of Lakota, the language which constitutes the principal medium for political and social discourse among adult Country Indians. As is typical of the role which such men create for themselves on the reservation, he is hard-working, conscientious, and much concerned to import into Indian life the standards which he thinks of as distinguishing the national society. From his perspective, the less communicated to the local folk about community development programs, the better; because otherwise everyone would be hounding his office trying to secure perquisites and places on the payroll for their relatives. Besides, tho task of "public relations" is conceived as belonging to another person, the Fifth Member of the Tribal Executive, an official who by the terms of the O.E.O. contracts is supposed to devote himself to acting as liason between the Community Development Program and "the tribe". In fact, however, the man currently holding the post of Fifth Member is overwhelmed by his other responsibilities as a member of the Executive, and also, feels ignorant of the O.E.O. programs and so reluctant to involve himself.

Meanwhile, the day-to-day operations of the Community Development Program, including the liason with the tribal government and the communication with the Indian public, have devolved upon a VISTA worker who has been recruited into playing the role of Assistant Director. Being White, young, and an outsider, she has been saddled with such hostility-provoking tasks as hiring and firing for the Neighborhood Youth Corps or of the aides for the Child Development Centers. Her genuine desire to assist the community is being exploited while the responsibilities of her position keep her locked in Pine Ridge town and the C.D.P. office. In time she is likely to suffer the fate of idealistic Bureau of Indian Affairs employees, who are similarly isolated from the social life of Country Indians and whose desire to "help them improve themselves" is continually frustrated by the resistance these folk offer to well-meant federal plans.

The same paternalistic pattern is visible in the program to establish child development centers (of a Head Start variety) throughout the reservation. The local folk have not been consulted, and planning and expediting had been turned over to outsiders. In particular, the overall educational design had been delegated to an educator located several hundred miles from Pine Ridge, and since he was not present when we made our brief visit, we can say nothing as to his qualifications or his knowledge of the Sioux and their reservation. Meanwhile, the day-to-day administration had been entrusted to a summer volunteer -- a student from the East. No one in authority seemed aware that they were by these tactics effectively depriving the local folk of the opportunity to learn by participating in planning.

In sum, then, the Community Development Program at Pine Ridge has been replacing the paternalism of the B.I.A. with a new and less rigid paternalism. The new situation does offer the Sioux the possibility of a greater influence upon and involvement with the program, but it is not particularly easy for them to perceive that. Moreover, the non-Indians who have moved into positions of authority within the Program have so defined the terms of Indian participation as to rule out -- as illegitimate and self-seeking -- the initial stages by which any community spokesman would attempt to exert influence, namely those who were interested in the welfare of their local communities and only derivatively interested in the welfare of the Oglala Sioux as a people or tribe.

The town of Pine Ridge now contains a cogent and concrete example of the fruits of the more recent paternalism in the Felis Cohen Home for the Aged. The Home was dedicated with much ceremony and many eminent visitors about two years ago. Clearly these outsiders regarded the Home as being something good that had been done for the Indians. Yet, today, in a Home designed to shelter forty persons, there are about ten elders resident, and this is half of the maximum that ever resided there. Evidently, the Home does not appeal to older Indians. The upper caste of Pine Ridge -- the B.I.A., P.H.S., and similar staff personnel -- explain this in terms of the incompetence of the tribal government which has the responsibility for operating the Home; these critics mention that the food is bad, the building lacks air conditioning (for which it was designed), and so on. Yet a few minutes conversation with the impoverished Indians for whom the Home was intended reveals that the Home is intrinsically a white elephant, because it simply does not meet the needs or arouse the interests of the older Indians with traditional ways and responsibilities. The planning, designing, and functioning of the Home fell into the hands of committees well exemplified by the director of the Community Development Program -- a congeries of Pine Ridge personnel who are determined to uplift the Indians but who are quite ignorant of and indifferent to Indian needs and interests, and who regard Indian desires as something to be surmounted and reformed instead of something to be responded to, encouraged, and developed. Meantime, the tribal government was and is reluctant to criticize any project which brings money into the area -- better a useless Home for the Aged than no such project at all.

Since the administration of the Home is now in difficult straits, the Director has detailed one of the VISTA workers to its administration. For this young man, the consequence will most likely be that he will be so preoccupied that he will never meet any Indians (except in a paternalistic and bureaucratic role); he will think of himself as devoting his energies on behalf of the Indians when in fact he will be shoring up a project designed and operated without consultation or communication with those whom it is supposed to benefit.

Parents

Informal interviews were conducted with parents who lived in the western area of the reservation, including the communities known as "Oglala Junior", "Number Four", "Calico", and "Number Six." The conversations were designed to elicit information on the needs of preschool youngsters, the types of programs children wished to attend, and the possibilities of a program which would encompass both these young children and their mothers. In the first two of these communities (Oglala Jr. and Number Four) our presence and our focus on the upbringing of the young children tended immediately to elicit questions about Robert V. Dumont and the "Harvard-Radcliffe Summer School Project" he organized and directed during the summer of 1964. Parents wanted to know where Dumont was and they lamented that the Summer School was not being repeated as they had hoped and as he had said it would be in 1965.

While a graphic report of the Harvard-Radcliffe Project may be obtained from its director, (Robert V. Dumont, Harvard School of Education Cambridge, Mass.), a summary may be useful here. As a participant in the research leading to the monograph, FORMAL EDUCATION IN AN AMERICAN INDIAN COMMUNITY, Dumont had lived for over a year in these western areas of Pine Ridge. Before he left, he had discussed educational needs with the local folk and their leaders, and he had planned a summer camp-school. When he returned in 1964, he brought two Harvard and two Radcliffe students and secured lodging for them with local Indian families. The community was able to provide primitive facilities for the camp, in the way of a large cabin that otherwise served them as community hall; and the Bureau of Indian Affairs provided some assistance in such matters as food.

Recalling this project a year later, parents stated that their children had attended regularly and eagerly, rising of their own wish early in the morning to prepare themselves for the camp vehicle, and then, on returning home, talking volubly of the activities of the day. Parents also stated that their children had learned much from the activities, e.g. songs, stories, and games. When asked about the 1965 summer school programs offered by the B.I.A., mothers claimed that their children had been far less eager to attend and that they had nothing to report on returning home. Again, in discussing the Harvard-Radcliffe Project, parents revealed that their children had liked the young people, and they talked fondly of their residence among them and of their attempts to learn "Indian ways," including singing and dancing.

So far as we were able to determine by indirect questions concerning programs for children of preprimary level, no parent in this area had the slightest inkling of the nature, intent, or existence of the child development centers scheduled to begin operation on the reservation within two months.

Projects Observed

A diversity of projects aimed at Indian children has been underway during this and recent summers. Many religious associations have sent youthful volunteers to the reservation to work with the children or otherwise to perform useful labor in community service. The Episcopalians were operating a series of two-week day camps that they described as Bible schools, but since the camp was then located in Pine Ridge town, we did not take time to observe it. The Jewish project, which involved community service, was over, and responses to its youth were not favorable, they being considered "snobbish". When asked whether the structures built by the Jewish youth on this project were being used, Indian parents said, "they were just standing there," and seemed under the impression that these buildings "belonged to the Bureau or some other Office" and that they as members of the community had no right to use them. The Holy Rosary Mission of the Roman Catholics was operating an afternoon program in the Calico area, and we did observe it. It was staffed by a youthful nun and about ten volunteers in their mid-teens, these latter coming for two week periods from outside the Reservation and living in the Mission compound. Eighteen children, aged three to five,were present, most having been walked in by the volunteers. In addition four older Indian boys (early adolescents) watched soberly and intently from a distance; two of these had horses and occasionally demonstrated their own and their steeds' prowess with a short bareback canter. The emotional tone of the gathering was so pleasing that we stayed and participated for an hour in the simple games. Both Indian children and White youth were enjoying the interaction and learning from each other. The location of these activities was a primitive cabin that served as community hall for Calico.

Indian Leaders and Tribal Officials

We talked with leaders from each of the four communities mentioned above about programs for children in the preschool age. All were interested, and one asked us to come and explain the Head Start Program to his people; the same person talked at length about how programs tend to be centralized in the hands of B.I.A. or Tribal governmental personnel and so to be removed from community needs or interests. Another explained that community workers are coming to his area without sufficient preparation or insight for dealing with the existing tribal organizations and customs of his people. He saw himself as devoting many hours (without compensation) to serving as a "bridge" (his phrase) between the various community workers and the local folk (many of whose elders know little English and have a deep skepticism about outsiders).

Although all of these leaders were well informed or participating in tribal government, none had any prior knowledge of the Head Start Program. More surprising, none made any reference to the new preprimary program which is being funded by O.E.O. on the reservation and which is due to begin operation this fall. It is true that the programs will initially be established in the eastern and central areas of the reservation, but the ignorance as to the nature and extent of the program was an unfortunate symptom of the paternalism described in the first section.

Several of these leaders criticized the structure of the Community Development Program -- and thereby the O.E.O. -- on the grounds that nothing was being done for the adult men. It could be argued that by their concentration on the young these programs are contributing further to the erosion of authority and responsibility of the Indian man. With reservation employment limited, and with the welfare programs designed for mothers, young children, the aged, and the ill, it is the men who are rendered useless and impotent.

RAPID CITY

SUMMARY

Judged by its own standards, which are the traditional standards of most educators and welfare workers, Project Head Start in Rapid City is not only good, it is excellent. The classes are small, (fifteen children or less), the facilities are pleasing and appropriate, there is abundant auxiliary personnel, the teachers are well trained and pleasant, and the atmosphere of each room is happy. The children are playing, learning, and developing. One of the eight teachers was very talented, although unaware of the real values in what she was doing.

If we criticize the Rapid City Project, it is because its very excellence is achieved on the basis of a colonial or White-Man's-Burden set of standards, and this is already apparent to some of the Indian mothers at whom the project is aimed. The Project is sufficiently well staffed and organized so that the absence of broad participation and support from the mothers of the Indian community is not significant, but the Project is not going to make the impact it should upon these mothers, and in the long run it will not provide the Indian community with the necessary assistance for its folk to move upward out of poverty.

Indian Parents

To the north of Rapid City is a shanty town know politely as the "Sioux Addition". The children who come to the Project from this area tend to be concentrated in a few families. It would be interesting to make a census of the area and determine the total number of eligible youngsters; no one seemed to know the figures. As a wild guess, we would hazard that the participating children number about twenty percent of the eligible. Some of the non-participation must be attributed to travel, as the Sioux are highly nomadic, especially in summer; and some must be attributed to the simple process of turnover, as families come to or leave Rapid City.

From one family, three children were attending and an older daughter was serving as an aide. This is a pattern we suggest be watched and encouraged. Sioux families and kin groups have a great loyality, Sioux children tend to be very shy and are greatly encouraged in any novel situation by the presence of an older family member. Since traditional families tend to be highly responsive to the desires and fears of their children, increasing the number and presence of Sioux volunteers or paid assistants would pay dividends in recruitment of children. Moreover, we should not discount the impact on an adolescent Sioux girl of participating in a responsible educational position, such as is represented by being a Head Start volunteer. We regret that, while 7/12ths of the children were Sioux, only one of the aides was a Sioux girl. We would suggest that a greater effort be made to recruit aides and volunteers from the community being served. Finally on this point, we emphasize the factionality and rivalry within Sioux communities, which means that rather than seeking for "Indians", the administration of a Head Start Center should (to the extent possible) select as aides those Indian persons who are part of the familial or kin group of the children who are to participate.

When we asked Indian mothers how they learned of the Head Start Project, they mentioned a variety of sources, predominantly welfare workers. However, in the Sioux Addition, one young mother (whose only child was too young as yet for the Program) spontaneously referred to the story which had appeared in the RAPID CITY SUNDAY JOURNAL, July 11. This mother was impressively and articulately indignant about the article and so, too, was another Indian mother (not resident in the Sioux Addition). They saw the article as patronizing - as implying that their children were savages who had not learned to eat with knife and fork, and as being in a state of starved neglect akin to the children portrayed in CARE advertisements. While the second of these two mothers viewed the article with amused tolerence, judging Head Start by what it was doing for her youngsters, the other was considerably more hostile. Thus, the question may well be raised whether such publicity releases may not further alienate needy persons of pride and self-respect from the community agencies which are established to assist them. Bluntly, if Head Start programs are defined as designed for the children of savage, drunken, or irresponsible parents, many parents may choose to withhold their children from the programs.

Observations at the Center

As already indicated, we were impressed by the operation of the Center, during a normal weekday morning. The facilities seemed excellent; the personnel skilled; and the atmosphere pleasant.

One teacher seemed especially gifted, as indicated by the following observations:

> The first class I saw was by far the best of three I visited. When I entered - children were on hands and knees being sheep and cows. All boys were sheep and all girls (ten boys, four girls) were cows. Went through rhythm story of Little Boy Blue with tremendous verve and enjoyment. One teacher and two helpers in this room.

> In this and later play activities in this room I was struck by a number of remarkable fine phenomena. First- teacher always let children set sex distinctions -- all boys wanted to be sheep - fine -- all girls mooed with zest - also no evidence at all of what the B.I.A. teachers call "competition". Everybody in this kind of game was to help make it go. Whole situation is much more helpful to learning verbal fluency in English than for Beginners in Bureau schools.
>
> Heard teacher say about paints which only four children could use - though several others wanted to paint: "we have to share everything - don't we."
>
> Most remarkable thing - I think I saw was use of telephone. Four little girls - two Indian - were sitting at a table in the side playing with dishes On the table with dishes was a toy telephone. Teacher at other end of room picked up telephone - and pretended she was asking operator for Mrs. ______ (probably name of one of the Indian girls). A girl picked up the phone - and teacher asked for her party. Girl handed phone to another - who giggled and looked around helplessly. Other Indian girl said; "say hello - Gee you're dumb." So the little girl said hello. Somehow in conversation with teacher - she blurted out invitation to teacher to come right over. So teacher came over, knocked, was offered coffee.

The whole performance - the use of English in genuine communication between pupils and between pupils and teacher - the remarkable, yet natural and quite practical practice in social expertise - the joyous and unselfconscious role playing were, to me, incredible, after what I witnessed two years ago in Beginner's level classes on the reservation.

> Talked to teacher - who - though first rate - thought of telephone gimmick mainly as way to teach children to use the telephone. (!!!) Told me that at orientation school teachers had been told to expect that the Indian children would be dirty and have head lice - and would need to be cleaned up in school. But Indian children in her class came very clean. She had one little Sioux boy (looked fullblood) who knew no English. But now, suddenly, at meal one day, he had asked, picking up sandwich, "What's that?" He did this with all food now and was learning new words consistantly. (This boy played well with other children - very happy with a farmyard set - he built a fence around - though during

> Boy Blue game, he had stood in line - sucking index finger of one hand and holding his pecker with the other. Nobody paid any attention to this.)
> Number of times heard Indian children talking spontaneously in English to other children - but perhaps they don't know Lakota.
> Next class - in which boys and girls were playing Musical Chairs - to Pop Goes the Weasel - the children were far more sedate and less expressive. Somehow Musical Chairs came out looking like some kind of orderly ritual - and White girl aide who played along with the little ones was fiercely competitive and saw to it that she stayed in game till last. After finished teacher said: "Wasn't that fun!" in insincere voice. Still children were not unhappy.

Educators and Administrators

We offer three comments in the way of advice rather than criticism. First, to the extent that publicity about the Center can be guided, we suggest that due emphasis be given to the positive qualities of parents who send their children to Head Start Centers, and that some attention might be given to the particular or unique virtues of children coming from Indian or other ethnic communities. For example, the article in the RAPID CITY SUNDAY JOURNAL, July 11, 1965, mentioned the disposition of Indian children to take food home from the Center meal in order to share it with their family, but they portrayed this as a vice or archaism to be overcome; it could equally well have been appreciated as a virtue fantastic for children aged four to six.

Second, the Indians of Rapid City tend to be protected and administered by a federation of individuals, representing various welfare and interest associations, and organized together under the appelation of the "Mayor's Commission." This Commission and its affiliated associations includes "professional Indians", who speak for "The Indian" during the course of urban planning. Needless to say, these individuals are unencumbered by ties which would require them to account for their stewardship to the Indians themselves. Undue reliance upon these individuals is a poor substitute for reaching out directly to the Indian families. Less planning should be done via these persons, and more direct contact should be made by such processes as home visits.

Third, in its recruitment of volunteers and auxiliary personnel, more effort should be made to recruit from the target communities.

RED SHIRT TABLE

The center operates under great technical and social difficulties. Isolated in the Badlands of South Dakota, lacking running water or a telephone, and connected to the greater society only by a system of dirt and gravel roads, a modern type Center is difficult to maintain. Preparing the school building for occupancy this summer required a week's arduous labor, cleaning and repairing, by the staff who had been recruited to operate the Center. Considerable effort is now being expended on such matters as hauling water, transporting provisions, and maintaining adequate standards of sanitation. These basic chores have been responsibly and devotedly handled by the staff of two professsionals (Mrs. Speak and Mr. Mayberry) and two aides (Mrs. Yellow Horse and Mrs. TwoBulls), assisted by Mr. Speak.

The Indian community of Red Shirt Table recognizes the dedication of the professional staff and speaks highly of them and of the Center. However, the operation of the Center and the future of the program within the community have been gravely jeopardized by tension between the local folk and the missionary who is himself serving as director of the community development program (O.E.O.) and whose wife serves as treasurer. Unfortunately, this couple, the Tiffany's,were absent on the day of our visit and so we were not able to discuss and counsel with them; and, since the drive from Pine Ridge town to Red Shirt Table is arduous, we were reluctant to undertake it again without definite knowledge that they would have returned from their vacation.

Many Indian inhabitants of Red Shirt Table speak of the Tiffany's with considerable ire. In his role as missionary (Seventh Day Adventist), he has apparently criticized the mode of housing and living of the local community, and since many of these folk are proud of their lives and houses they feel resentful toward him. Moreover, they hold him personally responsible for the content of a television program which was recently produced and which illustrated the operation of Project Head Start with commentary and pictures of Red Shirt Table. We have not seen this telecast and so are unable to judge whether or not the criticisms by the

Indians have an objective foundation. They complained that the telecast described their children as entering school knowing only Lakota and no English, when the facts are that English has long been the primary language of the Sioux households of Red Shirt Village. They complained also that the telecast portrayed their children as not knowing the use of table utensils and that it described their houses as "ramshackle". Now, to a person of urban and middle-class background, the cabins of the Sioux may indeed appear ramshackle, even though they have been standing for many years and have served to shelter many persons from the elements. Yet, the significant fact is that the local community has great pride in itself and in its children, and it is this pride which could constitute a lever for community betterment. Moreover, if the recipients of Head Start and other O.E.O. programs are continually described in negative terms, then those who are "poor but proud" -- and this includes many of the Sioux -- will simply refuse to participate. As one mother remarked, "We need your help but you don't have to degrade us!"

The unfortunate association between the O.E.O. publicity and the local missionary is testimony to the fundamental failure of the design of the Head Start Project at Red Shirt Table. Effectively the local community has not been involved and has not shared in the planning or responsibility for the Center. The news media came to the missionary for their orientation and did not deal with the community or its representatives, and accordingly the local folk attribute the inaccuracies of the telecast to the missionary. The students who have come this summer to the village to operate the Center are regarded favorably by the local community, but they have not sought to initiate a different relationship of responsibility between the Center and the parents and instead have allowed themselves to be guided by the local missionary. Given the isolation of the village and the small population (a dozen families), it would be quite feasible to so inform and so involve the local folk that quite a sensational demonstration project might develop. As it is now, many parents have withdrawn from participation or attendance at the Center or its activities.

The teachers at the Center indicated that a problem had arisen concerning the medical care of the children. They had arranged for a physician attached to the Public Health Service in the town of Pine Ridge to visit the community to examine the children. In the course of this visit, the medical team had inoculated the children against various diseases and the children had complained of these injections to their parents. In turn, the parents were now using the physician and nurse as "bogeymen", threatening the children that if they did not behave properly, they would be sent to the nurse and have needles stuck in them. The teachers thought this a deplorable and inconsiderate action on the part of the parents, which would instill into the children improper attitudes toward medical care. We pointed out that the folk of Red Shirt Table were likely quite uninformed about the nature and purposes of the inoculations and could only respond to these medical practices as being some other strange and painful tactic of the White intruders. Here, surely, was an instance when a public health worker should have preceded the visit of the medical team with a community meeting and explanation of what was to be done to the children. In any case, the staff had risen to the occasion by introducing into the curriculum materials on physicians and dentists, so as to prepare the children for future experiences and to explain to them the rationale behind whatever pain might be inflicted during the course of medical or dental treatment.

As in other centers, the professional staff seemed unaware of the difference of Indian children about aggressive physical contact with adults. We noted that at Red Shirt Table the teachers were enthusiastic participants in a game that involved much pushing and shoving and that they were quite oblivious of the problem of courtesy and respect that was thereby being posed to the children. While we did point out the nature of the problem to the staff and while we did suggest that, so far as concerns rough body contact, the children be directed against their fellows of the same age and sex, nonetheless we should add that the development of this kind of intercultural problem was not simply a negative quality but rather testimony to the intermingling and happy intimacy of staff and children at this Center.

All in all, it is our impression that Mrs. Speak and Mr. Mayberry were unusually adept and considerate in their interpersonal contact with the Indian children. Instruction, play, feeding, and washing were carried on in an atmosphere of soft-spoken gentleness to which the children responded very well and which, we are sure, the Indian parents would have approved. Indeed, all Indian parents interviewed indicated that they liked the teachers as persons, that the children liked them, and that, on the whole "the school is a good thing."

WHITE EARTH RESERVATION

The problems with Head Start and other O.E.O. projects in this area are those which might resonably be anticipated when an inexperienced local government is suddenly given rather large sums of money and corresponding responsibilities. The incumbent leaders and executives usually do not have strong or clear views about the form, content, or goals of education. They tend to be poorly informed, cautious, and disposed to be guided by the letter of the law or the edict of bureaucrats. The income represented by the projects is highly valued and -- as jobs -- tends to be apportioned among the members (usually kindred) of the incumbent or dominant socio-political faction. Meanwhile, members of those factions not sharing the spoils gripe and drag their heels, but enough of them can usually discern some modest advantage to themselves in participating so that the programs do move along.

Since the incumbent or "leading" faction is prone to believe that the interpretation of experts in correct and necessary for the continuation of the grant, the design of the projects is left almost entirely in the hands of persons from outside the Indian community, e.g.,school administrators, VISTA workers, bureaucrats. These designs are often far from ideal and conform neither to the needs of the community nor the aims of the Head Start Program. Understandably, members of the community who are attached to the dominant faction are not critical of the programs. When other folk, and especially members of the subordinate factions, suggest innovations or changes in design, their remarks tend to be categorically dismissed as springing from trouble-makers or jealous persons.

The following considerations are important as background to further and more detailed discussion. First, the resident population of the White Earth tribal group has decreased to about a third of what it was in 1950. At that time, the figures showed a resident population of over 9,000 persons; a recent census shows less than 2,500. Evidently, there has been a substantial out-migration; local people say that most of these Indians have moved to the Twin Cities, Chicago, and Milwaukee; they also say that many persons are nomadic, rather than migrants, and that they return to the White Earth area as often and as long as they can, (the evidence is also that these migrants are having grave social and economic difficulties in the urban environment.) Second, the White Earth Chippewa are highly acculturated. Their native language is now English, and very few engage in traditional ceremonial activities. There seems to be no group which can be classified as "fullblood" and against which another group can be denoted as "mixedblood" or as "breeds"; rather, the differences seem to be between those factions (or kindred) who have more wealth and power and those which have less. Third, while the White Earth Chippewa are poor, they did not to us appear in as desparate and desolated condition as some of the Sioux in the Dakotas. Our guess is that out-migration has so reduced the density of the region as to make life generally easier for those who remain; in that case, the problem of the impoverished Indian may in some part have been moved to urban settings. Fourth, the conflict and rivalry which in the large, Western reservations is phrased as Fullblood versus Mixedblood is here a rivalry between loosely associated aggregates of kindred. Not only have the selfconscious traditionalists just about vanished, but also those persons who are archetypically "mixedbloods" -- extolling the Protestant ethos of diligence and thrift and denouncing the Indian ethos of generosity and leisure -- these persons too seem few in numbers and relatively powerless.

There were three Head Start Centers on the White Earth reservation, namely, White Earth Village, Ponsford, and Nattahwaush. We visited the first two of these Centers. As a further organixational note, we remind the reader that White Earth is one of the organizational units or district of the consolidated (or federated) Minnesota Chippewa Tribe. Since the White Earth reservation is now "open" and numerous Whites own property and live in the area, we tend herein to speak of the White Earth tribal group rather than of the reservation.

Parents (White Earth Village)

Among the parents of the lower socio-political faction there was praise for the Head Start Project, tempered by a number of criticisms. They had not previously been asked for their criticisms, although some had spontaneously expressed them to the social worker associated with the Project.

(1) Mrs. Pfeilsticker, the teacher in the Center in the White Earth Village is not well liked. During the regular school year, she teaches the first grade, and so she is well known. She has the reputation of being an over-strict disciplinarian, and one mother allowed her child to withdraw from the program when the child complained of corporal abuse by the teacher. The mother had not registered a complaint.

(2) Some parents pointed out that it was difficult to keep pupils in school throughout the long school year. If pre-schoolers are to have a special summer program and then go with scarcely a break into the school term, they may fatigue even sooner, so their parents believe and worry. It is possible that some of the parental concern expressed here about a child turning sour over school was fear that the child would not be able to tolerate so long a dosage of this one teacher. One parent remarked spontaneously that preschool programs would be better if conducted during the normal school year, so the child would at least have the companionship of its relatives.

(3) When asked what kind of program they would like for their children several parents referred in glowing terms to the program of the previous year conducted by students from the University of Minnesota. They found the students highly congenial, and their children had welcomed the program.

(4) Some urban mothers find children a nuisance and welcome any reliable institutionalized arrangement for handling them. While this attitude was also shared by some of the better-off women we interviewed,

the majority of these Chippewa liked having their young children about the house, especially when older children were present to share the burden of their care. Accordingly, they may send their children to a Head Start Center if they believe it to be in the best interests of the child, but they are likely to pull the child out at any reasonable excuse. Moreover, most of the mothers would prefer a scheduled system of activities, covering part but not all of the day for most of their children. And some opined that a whole day at school was too tiring for the youngsters.

(5) Some parents who withheld their children entirely from the Head Start Program explained that "all summer and all winter was too much school;" children needed some time for play. Indeed, the preschool class we observed at White Earth Village entailed much drudgery and very little play or creative activity.

Center Observations

We observed operations at two of the three Cneters, White Earth Village and Ponsford. In both cases, the sessions were being held in schoolrooms, and in both cases activities tended to be highly structured by the teacher and organized mostly about the acquisition of scholastic skills (counting and reading-readiness). The activities at Ponsford were markedly superior to those at White Earth Village (and the teacher had a much better reputation) but in neither case did they compare with what we had observed at Little Eagle (Standing Rock), Red Shirt Table (Pine Ridge), or Rapid City. Too much of the time was being spent with the children seated in neat rows and engaged in mass routines; too much of the time was devoted to "idiot questions" to which a few children were responding, while the remainder silently twisted in their seats. Given this definition of what Head Start activities should be, the teachers were delegating little responsibility to their aides and were utilizing them mostly for supervision of handwashing and the playground period.

It would be too easy to blame the teachers for this perversion of Head Start objectives. The fault more clearly lies with an administration which has been content to abstain from the project and allow the educators to organize a program on conventional scholastic principles -- a kind of prep-school for the first grade.

Educators

Both teachers we talked to were socially isolated from the local Indian community. As one of them expressed it, "They have their life, and I have mine, and I think that's the way they prefer it." The speaker, a well-meaning soul, did not seem to feel that she could learn anything or enrich her own life by contact with the parents of the children she was presuming to instruct. The only persons who seemed to be making any home visits were the social workers, who were new to the area.

The teacher at Ponsford did ask for more assistance in obtaining materials pertinent to the ethnic culture and history of her pupils. As she explained, even in such a matter as pictures and illustrations, the subjects are invariably urban White children and so quite foreign to the interests and experiences of her charges. (We were not able to provide her with suggestions for material at the level of the primary and pre-primary grades. We believe that such material is available and that more is being developed, and we suggest that educators in schools serving Indians be provided with lists and -- where possible--samples.)

The teacher in Ponsford also complained of a lack of suitable toys and equipment for her preschool children. To some degree this deficiency should be attributed to the difficulties in organizing and designing the local program, for so far as we could gather, the task of choosing and requisitioning supplies had been turned over to the VISTA workers, and they of course had little background for this responsibility.

Administration

So far as we could quickly reconstruct, the White Earth tribal group was propeled into Head Start and other programs through the good efforts of O.E.O. representitives, who pushed matters along with great speed and energy. Initially, it had been believed that the Head Start Project could be sponsered via the local school board, and one of the members of the board attended a conference at Bemidji where the philosophy and design of Child Development Centers was explained. Then, it was discovered that the project could not be sponsered by the school board and had to be picked up by the tribal government, and since control of these agencies was then in the hands of opposing political factions, the advice of the board member who had been at Bemidji was not heeded. (Shortly thereafter, the political revolution affected the school board, and the board member in question resigned.) Accordingly, the administration of Project Head Start passed into the hands of novices who were quite unprepared for these responsibilities, although eager to utilize the funds coming in.

The rivals of the dominant political faction in White Earth politics accuse them of operating a spoils system in which all the major jobs have been assigned to their kindred. This favoritism does seem to be true, although there is no evidence that the appointees are incompetent, and the likelihood is that, in general, the victorious faction includes the better educated of the White Earth population. On the other hand, it may be true that, considering their formal qualifications, the federally-supported salaries they are receiving may be unduly large.

A complaint was registered that $400 of Head Start funds had been appropriated for tours by the Center at White Earth Village, but that during the entire term of operation only one trip was made -- and that to the neighboring city of Detroit Lakes where the children had had boat rides. Whether that sum of money was unspent or misused we do not know, but certainly the children in the Center at White Earth Village should

have been participating in more and better designed tours.

Conversation with Mr. Goodwin, the director of the Community Development Program at White Earth and the person therefore with formal responsibility for the Head Start Program, revealed his feelings that these programs had developed prior to his assumption of office and had remained outside of his control and concern. He expressed irritation at the consultant sent earlier by Head Start ("noseying around and criticising"). He also indicated that he wanted O.E.O. to instruct him in detail on the operation of Head Start and other projects. However, when we indicated to him certain of the failings of the present White Earth program (e.g. lack of community involvement), his response was not encouraging,and it may be that for him to consider guidance authoritative, it must come down the chain of command from Washington through regional, state, and tribal authorities.

From our conversations at White Earth and Red Lake, we infer that the officials of the State of Minnesota who deal with the Chippewa on matters of education or welfare are persons who are totally ignorant of Chippewa culture and society. They regard Indians as being socially and psychologically Whites who happen to bear red skins but who are poor and afflicted with the vices and weaknesses of the poor. This view is very convenient for bureaucrats but it happens to be grossly in error and there is a mountain of ethnographic literature which refutes it (see the writings of A.I. Hallowell, V. Barnouw, F. Miller, and others). As we asserted in the "Summary," it is true that the Indian problem is one of relative poverty and lack of power, but we should add here that in designing educational programs for Indians it is extremely helpful to have some knowledge of their culture and personality. Indians, even Indian children, do relate differently to people than do, for example, Lutherns of Scandinavian extraction or Catholics of German extraction, and the educational format that works well with one group will not necessarily work equally well for the other. Insofar as educators persist in regarding Indian children as identical with non-Indians, they are failing their task as educators, because they are not starting where the child is, but where they themselves wish him to be.

All this is of more than ideological importance. Instruction about Head Start and other programs for children tends to be filtered through the regional and state offices. If these administrators are hostile to the matter of ethnic differences and reluctant to heed the comments of parents, then the best of federal plans will come to nought.

RED LAKE

In its organization, Red Lake is more akin to the western reservations of Pine Ridge and Standing Rock than to White Earth, as it has a substantial and unified land base which is controlled by a tribal government together with the B.I.A. While the school system is public and is administratively organized under the school board, the boundaries of the school district were drawn so as to coincide with the reservation lines, in a pattern which seems to have been desired both by the tribal officials and -- so it is said -- by the neighboring White parents who did not wish their children to mingle with the Indians. Within the reservation, then, are three systems of political and economic power: the tribal government; the agency offices of the B.I.A.; and the school system. The P.H.S. hospital might constitute a fourth system, but in the present context it may be identified with the B.I.A. as federally controlled and civil service.

So far as concern most areas of educational policy, the school system is governed by the superintendent with the board acting as a rubber stamp. In part, this may be due to the novelty of the public system; also, to the inexperience of the Indian board members; but, in part, certainly, it is due to the complexity of a modern educational system in which funds accrue from a variety of sources under a variety of types of legislation. Be that as it may, the school board has been known to raise issues only concerning the handling of disciplinary cases (so challenging the principal of the high school). Neither the board nor any other agency has yet acted as a vehicle for transmitting complaints about unpopular teachers, let alone for raising issues of curriculum.

While the Head Start Program was attained through application by the tribal government, its organization and administration were quickly turned over to the officials of the school system, so that its executive head is the high school principal. This delegation of authority and responsibility seems to be so complete that we, as newcomers,to the situation, found it bewildering. For example, Roger Jourdain, the chairman of the tribal government told us that he was strongly interested in the preservation of the Chippewa language and its inclusion in the school system. Since Jourdain and the council obtained and had control of the funds for the Head Start Program, we would have thought that they could have used this strategic position to push for any type of curriculum they desired. Yet, they did not, and we can only regard this reticence as further evidence of the timidity of tribal governments about innovating with federally sponsered programs; they regard the immediate benefits of the program as too great to jeopardize by offering any challenge to the conventional wisdom of the professionally qualified authority. On the other hand, Jourdain does believe that the Head Start Program has served to improve relationships between, on the one side, himself and the tribal council, and, on the other side, the school administration, and he contends that the latter group now listen with greater concern and respect to the former group and that consultation is now more frequent. If this is so, then Head Start has at Red Lake moved toward one of its major goals, even if the movement is more modest and covert than had been hoped for.

Parents

The Head Start Program was held in high regard by the parents. The best evidence being, nor merely their response to direct questions, but the report of a University of Minnesota undergraduate, who as a part of a course in field research had inherited the task of administering the Head Start questionnaire (CAP-HS Form 41 January, 1965) to parents (and who, finding this questionnaire quite idiotic in reservation conditions, had elaborated a more congenial schedule of her own). This young lady found that when she called on homes driving a car borrowed from the B.I.A. (and so labeled), she had encountered suspicion and reserve, but that when she identified herself as associated with Head Start, this suspicion was replaced by a tolerant or friendly interest.

In the small, isolated, and traditionalistic village of Ponemah, word of the project had been spread via the councilman (who has a reputation as a knowledgable operator), and the enrollment of youngsters had been one hundred percent, although attendance had fluctuated. In the Red Lake - Redby area, information about the project had not been so well or sympathetically spread and enrollment had been slow, rising as the project went along and parents learned of its merits. We surmise that among other hinderances there was a failure to ovtain the endorsement of the Catholic educators who operate the mission school to which many Indians send their children for primary education. Head Start was strongly identified with the public school system, being held in its buildings and staffed by its personnel, and parents intending to sent their children to the mission school could well have regarded the Head Start Center as irrelevant.

The nature of the interest the Head Start Program has for Chippewa mothers and the relationship between those mothers and their children are nicely illustrated with the following fragments from an interview:

> Respondent: I really think it's a good thing (Program). She (her daughter) was kind of bashful, kind of a big baby. It was good for her just to be away(from home).
> Interviewer: How did you hear about the Program?
> Respondent: I got a letter from the Tribal Office. Then I went and found out about it from the school; I went and asked.
>
> I just liked the idea. I asked her (daughter) if she wanted to go. I explained what it would be like, and that there wouldn't be much time in between (vacation between Head Start and the beginning of school). But she wanted to go, and she likes it real well. She tells me what goes on, but she's still kind of quiet.

Educators and Administrators

Formally, all educators and administrators were well qualified and experienced. However, basically, most were quite uninformed as to the nature of the local Indian communities or the social and personal dynamics of the Indian pupils. Again, most seemed decent and pleasant persons who were interested in understanding their pupils better but who were allowing themselves to be entrapped by the structure of the school system. On the one hand, they were well pleased with a system which kept the Indian parents subservient and at a distance from the schools; while, on the other hand, they were discomfitted at their inability to reach or understand their pupils.

Two persons were in exceptional positions. The Head Start teacher in the isolated and traditional community of Ponemah was somewhat more free in her local situation and had been assisted in her wish to meet the local folk by an anthropologist (Mary Black) who had been working with the elders there. The other person, being the daughter-in-law of the tribal chairman, again had more access to the community although not to its more traditional or impoverished side.

Class Observations

The gross physical facilities (the public school buildings) were excellent. However, the equipment left something to be desired. In the haste to organize and establish the project, the ordering of special materials and playthings for the pupils had been turned over to VISTA workers and they had purchased such expensive and inappropriate items as dummy electric ranges, which were unfamiliar to most Indian families.

While there were extensive periods of free play in the gymnasium with equipment there, work in the Red Lake classrooms was under the supervision and direction of the teachers and tended to be overly organized and overly pedagogic. Nonetheless, the atmosphere was generally good, and the children seemed to be happy and developing.

The boys gave a bit the appearance of bantam cocks who, the minute the teacher's attention wandered from them, were ready to square off against each other in a test of strength. Fighting and the establishment of a pecking order is a normal and important feature of Indian peer society. Accordingly, there might be some reason to incorporate some sort of regulated mayhem, such as wrestling, within the school activities, providing the parents were consulted, approved, and agreed to help proctor the contests. At present, there is too much of a lady-like and genteel flavor about most Head Start activities in most centers.

Final Note on the Chippewa: Advisory Personnel

O. Meredith Wilson, President of the University of Minnesota, has recently organized a University Committee on American Indian Affairs. Wilson himself was Chairman of the Commission on the Rights, Liberties, and Responsibilities of the American Indian (funded by the Fund for the Republic) and so has an excellent knowledge of contemporary Indian affairs on the national scene. Minnesota's committee includes members of a variety of departments within the University, including anthropologists, sociologists, social workers, and others, and it is chaired by Matthew Stark, who is Coordinator of the Human Relations Program within the Office of the Dean of Students. Barbara Knudson, who is a member of that Committee and who is Director of the Institute for Community Services (formerly Institute for Delinquency Prevention) of the University, directed the organization of an Institute for Teachers of Indian Children, which was held August 30 - September 3, 1965, at Bemidji State College. She secured the cooperation of all the major agencies and organizations involved in Indian affairs in Minnesota, including the tribal governments, and the participants at the Institute included about ninety educators, administrators, tribal officials, etc.

During the course of our work among the Chippewa, we encountered the following anthropologists also engaged in field work: on the White Earth Reservation, James G.E. Smith of the University of Alabama (formerly of Moorhead State College, Minnesota); on the Red Lake Reservation, Frank C. Miller, University of Minnesota and Mary Black, University of California (Berkeley). All three would be knowledgable about the Chippewa and could provide counsel to Head Start and the O.E.O.

AN APPRAISAL OF POSSIBILITIES FOR A HEAD START PROGRAM AMONG THE POTAWATOMI INDIANS OF KANSAS

Introduction

The following report investigates the possibilities and problems of initiating a Head Start program in an Indian Reservation-based community, the Kansas Potawatomi. In this discussion of the Potawatomi community it is hoped that points will emerge which have relevance for other Indian reservation communities as well, for this is one of the aims of the discussion.

The report focuses on the Potawatomi reservation because I know something about conditions there; but if a Head Start program is to be initiated, I think it would be wise to include not only the Potawatomi but the neighboring Kickapoo and other children from low-income families in the area as well. Therefore the reader is cautioned against assuming that the information in this report is equally applicable to the Kickapoo and other, non-Indian, low-income families, even though I recommend that they be included in the program.

The information and conclusions contained herein are based on my knowledge of the Potawatomi gained as a member of the Kansas University Potawatomi study, a community study begun four uears ago under the direction of Dr. James A. Clifton of the university's department of anthropology. During the two summers spent on the reservation I devoted most of my time to extended conversations with Potawatomi in their homes and at their community activities. It would be more than presumptuous of me to say, however, that the following represents the opinion of the majority of the Potawatomi about the possibilities of their instituting a Head Start program. I conducted no door-to-door opinion survey of families whose children are of Head Start age. Except where otherwise noted, the opinions expressed are my own.

One last introductory note should be added: to my knowledge no action has yet been taken either by the Potawatomi or interested Whites in the area towards setting up a Head Start program. I seriously doubt that most of the

Potawatomi know that the potential for such a program exists. This report, then, must be regarded as a sort of assay of the raw materials in the area -- it is in no way a formal application for Head Start funds for the Potawatomi Indian Reservation.

The Reservation Community

The Potawatomi Indian reservation consists of an 11 mile square tract of land located one mile west of the small farming community of Mayetta, Kansas (population ca. 500). According to a census taken by the Kansas University Potawatomi Study, as of 1 July 1963 there were 188 Potawatomi living on this Reservation tract whose names were listed on the Tribal Roll. In addition, perhaps another 150 Indians live there who either are not Potawatomi or have not yet been listed on the tribal rolls. About 320 Potawatomi live off the reservation in the surrounding towns, with perhaps 300 more living in Topeka, twenty miles south of the reservation.

Most of the Indian wage-earners work as semi-skilled or unskilled laborers. On the reservation some income is received from leasing farm land to White farmers and from seasonal farm labor. I estimate that the annual income of one-third of the Indian families on the reservation and in the surrounding towns amounts to less than $3,000. Several families are receiving welfare payments from the state.

The small town of Mayetta is within easy reach of those Indians who have cars, as is the larger town of Holton (population ca. 2,000), located about 10 miles north of the reservation. Mayetta had its "boom" early in this century, and has now become little more than a wide spot in the major road between Holton and Topeka.

The Potawatomi Reservation is under administrative control of a Bureau of Indian Affairs office in Horton, Kansas, some 25 miles north of the reservation. This office also has administrative control over the smaller Kickapoo reservation (population ca. 100), located just west of Horton. The U.S. Public Health Service operates a field office in Holton, staffed by one field nurse and her secretary. This office renders medical and preventive medical service to both the Potawatomi and Kickapoo.

The Potawatomi have an elected Business Committee which theoretically acts as a coordinating body between the Potawatomi population and the Bureau of Indian Affairs. For the last thirty years (and longer) the Potawatomi population has been rent by political factionalism, a condition not uncommon in other American Indian reservation communities. The opposing groups, which may be labelled as "progressives" and "conservatives", strongly disagree on basic policies regarding the steps to be taken to "better the tribe"; specifically, the conservatives (less numerous than the progressives) have in the past stood in firm opposition to programs of improvement which are sponsered by the U.S. Government. The progressives, while wishing to emphasize their relative autonomy from Government control, are generally willing to accept offers of advice and financial assistance on programs of general welfare (e.g. a sanitation system for the reservation). There has been a general tendency for the conservatives and progressives to shy away from meetings to arbitrate their differences. The conservatives boycott progressive Business Committee meetings (the Business committee is composed entirely of progressives), and progressives do not attend conservative "councils." Not only do the conservatives boycott progressive meetings, but they tend to stay away from any activities which they consider to be under the control of the progressives. This means that any attempt to institute programs requiring the active support of the community at large will first likely be categorized as being either conservative or progressive-sponsered, and accordingly accepted or rejected by segments of the population. It is quite true that not all of the community is either "hard core" conservative or "hard core" progressive -- but the members of both these "hard cores" are capable of influencing the opinion of others toward a proposed program. In short, a Head Start program would stand a good chance of being boycotted by a portion of the community.

The Home Environment of the Potawatomi Child

Houses on the reservation are for the most part located on individual tracts of farm land. For the child this means that interaction with other children is limited largely to his brothers and sisters, if he has any, for much of the day. The Potawatomi do like to "visit", however, and frequently the child is taken on visits to friends or relatives in the evenings. In addition, various religious and non-religious "doings" are attended by entire families and the children play together in impromptu games of baseball, tag, and hide and seek. During the summer such "doings" occur on almost every weekend.

The condition of Indian houses on the reservation is generally worse than that of the White farmers' houses in the same area. Few Indian homes have running water piped into the house, and almost none have indoor toilets. Heat in the winter is provided in most Indian homes by centrally-located wood stoves. Many of the Indian homes do have electricity, and, especially in those homes in which there are children, there is usually a television set.

The diet in most homes is, by White American Middle Class standards, sub-standard but adequate. The meals I have consumed in the homes were heavy in starch content. I know of only one family in which the food consumed by children contains a notable deficency of meat, milk, and fruit. This particular family is on welfare, and their plight is well-known, if only partially relieved, by local authorities.

I would estimate that approximately one-fourth of the children of school age live with relatives other than, or in addition to, their parents. In several cases care of the children is left to the parents' relatives during the day while the parents work.

I know of no child who does not speak English with fluency expected from White children of the same age. Some are able to speak both Potawatomi and English. In the home the children use English in communication with their elders, and communicate with each other in English. Television sets, radios, and occasional trips to the local movie house (when they can be afforded) offer the children ample exposure to English when they are not in company with their peers.

I cannot generalize about the disciplinary techniques of Indian parents, except to way that discipline seems rather lenient when compared to White American Middle Class standards. I have heard some Indian parents complain about the failure of others to control their children, and as will be noted shortly, one such complaint was voiced in connection with problems to be faced in setting up a Head Start program; but I cannot be sure that all such complaints are based on observed fact, or whether they are just one of several ways of expressing inter-family hostility.

I cannot say that the Indian child on the reservation is any more "deprived" in his social relationships than the children of White rural families in the immediate area and elsewhere. The adult activities to which the Indian child is exposed (e.g. in local meetings of the Potawatomi Drum religion) are certainly different from those witnessed by White farm children -- but the Indian children chase each other and play ball on such occasions just as White children do while their parents chat at a church picnic on a Sunday afternoon.

A positive consideration in planning a Head Start program is that in most of the families in which there are school-age children, as well as among the older members of the tribe and in the progressive council meetings, there is an expressed wish to make plans for the "betterment of the younger generation." Foremost in a majority of public statements on the subject is the desire to help the children "get a good education." Most of the adult Potawatomi seem convinced of the truth of the statement, "If you want to get anyplace in this world, you've got to get your education."

The Neighboring White Communities: General Attitudes Toward Indians

The citizens of Mayetta, Holton, and Horton have been living adjacent to Indian reservations for over a century. As with most farming communities on the frontier, the inhabitants of these towns in the 19th and early 20th centuries viewed the Indians as obstacles blocking their relentless pursuit of "progress." Flaming editorials were written in local papers, complaining about the debauchery of the local Indians and reiterating the Whites' desire to rid the Indians of their land so it could be "put to good use".

I suspect that most of the White citizens in the neighboring towns still regard local Indians as "spendthrifts" and "down-and-outers." I have heard some wonder aloud why the Government doesn't quit "giving handouts" to the Indians. Some local businessmen undoubtedly number individual Indians as " some of their best friends." But I feel that around the first of each month, when pay-checks come in, the Indians are welcome visitors on Main Street; while for the rest of the month, to the Whites, the Indians are dusky, lethargic fixtures to the park benches in the shade of the town square, or noisy disturbers of the peace in front of certain bars late at night. I would hasten to add that the Indians, especially with the recent emphasis on Civil rights movements at the national level, sometimes overemphasize cases of rebuff or discrimination suffered at the hands of the local Whites.

The rationale for this obvious over-generalization of prevailing White attitudes in the towns neighboring the reservation in simply this: I am dubious about a Head Start program for Indians receiving much cooperation from the local White civic groups, with the possible exception of the local school administration and church groups interested in proselytization.

Present Program of Preparation for Education of Potawatomi Children

At the present time the Potawatomi children, like the children of the

Kickapoo tribe, twenty miles north, attend public schools in neighboring towns -- then no longer attend Government boarding schools in the primary or secondary grades. There is a kindergarten in the Holton Public School System, but in Mayetta, where a majority of children living on the reservation attend school, the system begins with the first grade.

Transportation to and from school for Whites and Indians alike is provided by a school bus, which stops near the homes of children who live on the reservation.

For the past several years, all Indian children eligible for Public Health service have undergone a series of immunizations and physical examinations the month before they enter public schools for the first time. The children from both the Kickapoo and Potawatomi reservations, as well as eligible Indian children whose families live in the surrounding towns, undergo immunizations and examinations at the Public Health Field Station in Holton. During an interview, the field nurse said that she estimated that "about thirty" children of first-grade age would appear for the examinations this year. This total includes both Potawatomi and Kickapoo children living either on the reservation or in surrounding towns. She stated that "a majority" of this group lived on the reservation. In the field nurse's opinion, the Indian children are medically fit to enter school following the examinations.

Some Local Opinions about Head Start and Education in General

1. Potawatomi woman, living on the reservation, about 45 years old, with three children in school and one to enter this fall: I explained in general the objectives of Head Start and asked her reaction. "That's nice to talk about," she said, "but it would never work. The kids are too mean. There's too much prejudice (i.e., jealousy among Indian families on the reservation). They (the Indian parents) would figure they know as much about (i.e., a pre-school program of activities) as the teacher does."

She added that she didn't think there would be enough Indian children in the proper age bracket to make the program worth while. I asked if it would be better for an Indian than for a White person to supervise the program: "No! A White man would have to run it. They (the other Indians) wouldn't stand for an Indian running it. They'd think they knew more about running it than he (the Indian) would." She continued, "A _____ doesn't care what her kids do; and G_____, he thinks he can teach his kids better than the teacher." She added that A_____'s children acted like bullies, and that several children had returned from the Catholic Mission Day School (see below) with complaints about how A_____'s children had "picked on them." The woman concluded, "the older ones -- the parents-- they're the ones that need help. They don't take responsibility with their kids." She felt that a Head Start program would fail for lack of support by the local population.

2. The Public Health Field Nurse and her secretary; the secretary is a prominent member of the progressive faction, although she lives off the reservation. She has children of school age. Both ladies felt that there is a need for a Head Start program, and thought that the program would work. The nurse said that she had already received some information on Head Start from the Area Office of the Public Health Service, and that she would like very much to take part in the program. She thought that any plans for Head Start should include both the Kickapoo and the Potawatomi.

3. Potawatomi man, about 50 years old, with a young son eligible for entry into school. He lives with his son and his aged mother on the reservation. The man noted that the Public Health Nurse had been attempting to persuade him to take his son to the clinic for his pre-school check-up. "But," he said, "I don't think I'm gonna send the boy to school for a while yet. I can teach him as much as he would learn in that school -- I teach him all about nature. He (the boy) is already ahead of them other kids. Count for the man, Paul!" (Paul, his son, counted swiftly to ten.) The living conditions of this particular family are the worst I know of on the reservation.

4. A second-grade school teacher in Horton, whose classes include Kickapoo children. She is about 27 years old, and her husband teaches math and science in the Horton High School. This teacher felt that the local Indian children had no serious problems adjusting to the school routine in the primary grades. She rated them no better or no worse than her other pupils in eagerness and ability to learn. She noted no problem of communication between her and the Indian children. In the second grade, she said, there are no indications that the Indian children are less responsive to discipline than other children of the same age, and there is no apparent tendency for Indian children to "stick to themselves" during play period. The only unusual incident she could recall occurred during lunch period on the first day of school two years ago, when an Indian boy in school for the first time dumped his food out of his plate on to the table and ate from the table-top. The teachers, she said, told him that that was not the proper thing to do at mealtime, and the incident was not repeated.

The situation begins to change beginning in the sixth grade. She noted that at this time the Indian children tend to play in their own groups at recess, and to become more sullen and less responsive in the classroom (a similar pattern was noted in a study of Oglala Sioux students by Wax, Wax, and Dumont, "Formal Education in an American Indian Community," Social Problems Vol.11 (4), 1964).

The teacher reported that it was difficult to get Indian parents involved in PTA activities. When given responsibilities for providing goods or services in school functions, the Indian parents would fail to appear, or would not fulfill their responsibilities. She felt that a Head Start program would be good for the Indians if Indian parents would cooperate.

Past Cooperative Programs on the Reservation

The Catholic Day-School. In the summer of 1964 the Catholic Church sponsored a Day-School for children between the ages 4 and about 13. During the sessions the children played organized games, colored pictures, sang songs, and received noon meals on occasion. Included in the staff of the school were two Catholic Sisters and two lay workers. Transportation was provided to and from the school in the private automobiles of the lay workers. Some cooperation was received from Indian mothers who were members of the Catholic church. Ten to fifteen children attended each session of the school.

The school was open to all Indian children, although portions of the activities had distinctly religious overtones (e.g., on occasion the children colored pictures illustrating events from the Bible). Judged on the basis of the number of children living on the reservation and the sectarian overtones of the activities, the Catholic Day-School seemed to be a successful venture.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs Summer Recreation Program. By contrast, the BIA-sponsored program was not successful, in spite of the fact that recreational equipment and trained supervisors were available and anxious to stimulate interest in the program. Letters had been sent in advance to all families on the reservation, informing them of the particulars of the program. The program hobbled along for several weeks with minimal response from the Indians. Failure of the program may be attributed in part to a lack of transportation to and from the recreation area; perhaps the Catholic Day-School siphoned off some of the children who would otherwise have participated in the BIA program; and probably for some Indians the program bore the stigma of Government sponsorship.

Some Major Problems, and Possibilities for their Solution

1. What area should be encompassed by the Head Start center? In keeping with the guidelines set forth in the Head Start information pamphlet, the program might profitably be designed to include the children of low-income families, Indian as well as White and Negro, within a twenty

mile radius of the town of Holton, Kansas. Such a geographical limitation would include both the Kickapoo and Potawatomi reservations, as well as the adjacent Mayetta, Holton, and Horton areas. The boundaries would not conflict with those of Head Start programs being initiated in the city of Topeka to the south, although coordination with the Topeka officials should probably be made. Such boundaries would also facilitate coordination with the area Public Health Field Office, located in Holton, which presently administers to both the Kickapoo and Potawatomi reservations.

2. Would the Indian and White families in the area support a program of Head Start, support it with time as well as words? This, as I see it, is the most crucial of the problems listed here, and the most difficult for which to provide even tentative suggestions for solution. It involves motivation, a "felt need" on the part of the families involved to set up the program and keep it going. Speaking only of the Potawatomi, I would say that the "felt need" for an improvement of educational opportunities open to children is already present among most of the adults. But transforming this felt need into the required action might require some salesmanship on the part of Head Start personnel, and I am not sure that salesmanship is one of the qualities these personnel are expected to possess.

To state the problem differently, I feel certain that the Potawatomi would be willing to receive 90% subsidy for an education program, but I feel that many of them would be initially reluctant to give freely of their time and effort required to fulfill the remaining 10% of the total cost of the program. A possible means of overcoming this initial reaction could be a series of group and individual conferences between the parents of the children eligible to participate in Head Start and key personnel in the local program, during which the fine points of the program could be outlined and discussed and specific tasks assigned. Several of these conferences would probably be required before the program could operate smoothly.

Those interested in establishing a Head Start program in this area might well take into consideration the amount of salesmanship required to get the necessary cooperation from parents; the salesmanship effort could conceivably demand more time than the key professional personnel could profitably afford to spend.

3. Transportation. Regardless of where the center is finally located, some means must be found for rounding up children living in homes spread over a roughly circular area with a diameter of forty miles (if these limits are accepted). The obvious solution would seem to be to enlist the aid of parents in setting up a series of car pools. But in even the more well-to-do Indian families, safe and reliable automobiles are not always to be found, and Indian mothers in the area are not known for their driving skill. It may be necessary to hire local professional school bus drivers and utilize some of the school busses in the area to provide satisfactory transportation.

4. Space for the center. This is really a matter for the planning committee to work out, but there seems to be no shortage of building space which could be utilized. The Potawatomi Community Hall, just west of the major north-south highway linking Mayetta with Holton and Horton, is one possible site; in the town of Mayetta are a number of vacant buildings which could be made suitable with relatively little effort.

5. Getting the program under way. Someone or some group of persons, of course, must act as a catalyst for community action -- and they must be willing patiently to sit through a long series of conferences with individual Indian families and to answer the same questions asked several times by the same person. Form letters, pamphlets, etc. sent through the mail to individual Indian families will certainly make them aware of the existence of a Head Start program; but such literature will, in my opinion, not provide much incentive to get the program under way. I feel that the best means of achieving this is, as I have said before, through a series of face-to-face contacts with individuals. If group meetings are deemed appropriate, I would strongly urge that arrangements be made to provide a meal for the group, that the meetings be scheduled

when both parents would be able to attend, and maximum use be made of graphic aids (probably pictures). The Potawatomi Indians, like other people, are proud of the fact that they are the "real Americans." I would therefore suggest that any graphic aids used should not "play up" the squalor of the slums from which the children in other Head Start programs have been drawn -- the Indians, although perhaps not much better off, would probably be offended by the implicit comparison of their own environment with that shown in pictures of Negro children playing in littered streets.

But who whould be the catalyst, the organizer? The Public Health field nurse, (Mrs. Ginzler, Field Nurse, Office of the Public Health Service, Holton, Kansas) has expressed enthusiasm for the Head Start program. Furthermore, she has on file in her office the records of families on both the Potawatomi and Kickapoo reservations and in the surrounding towns, from which could be drawn a list of potential Head Start enrollees. But she already has a full-time job in the field office, and may be unable to assume the additional burden of organization in the initial phases of the program. Furthermore, whether justifiable or not, she has been criticized by people on the reservation, primarily members of the conservative faction, for her practices in running the health office. Thus she may run into difficulties in attempting to establish contact with several families. She may be willing to supply information for other Head Start personnel however, and would probably be happy to coordinate the Head Start program with her health program.

The Potawatomi Business Committee, Philip Burns, Chairman, could add support to the program; but, as noted earlier, the members of the committee are all from the progressive faction and would therefore not be welcome in some Indian homes. Furthermore, five of the seven members of the committee do not live near the reservation, but are scattered in such places as Leavenworth, Kansas and Wichita, Kansas some 300 miles southwest of Mayetta. (Philip Burns is employed by an aircraft manufacturing company in Wichita.) Mr. Frank Nioce, Jr., living in Hoyt, Kansas is a relatively young member of the committee with a good education and an apparent desire to help his tribe. Although I have not spoken with him about Head Start, he might be willing to serve as one of the initial organizers. Every effort should be made to insure that members of both factions have a part in the planning. Conservative leaders are Mrs. Minnie Evans and Mr. John Wahwassuck, both of whom live on the reservation.

I would suggest that perhaps the type of person best qualified to contact the individual Indian families in their homes and in group meetings would be a non-Indian with a desire to help initiate a Head Start program, who has not become clearly associated in the Potawatomi's minds with the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the Public Health Service, or either of the two factional groups on the reservation (although in the course of the program's development, some such association will inevitably be made). The logical choice would, it seems to me, be one of the Vista volunteers with demonstrated ability to interact effectively with American Indian groups. An anthropologist associated with the University of Kansas Potawatomi Research Project might also be suggested; in the absence of Dr. Clifton, who is to be in Latin America during the academic year 1965-66, a next choice would be Ann Searcy, a student within the Department who has worked many weeks among these people.

6. Relationship between Head Start and the local agency of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Both the Bureau and Head Start are Government organizations, which does not necessarily mean that friendly cooperation between them "in the field" is inevitable. I feel that as a minimum the Agency in Holton should be apprised of the efforts of the organizing committee, and the Agency's cooperation and suggestions solicited. The Superintendent of the Horton Agency is Mr. Buford Morrison (Bureau of Indian Affairs Agency, Horton, Kansas). The Head Start operation will inevitably suffer, I feel, if the Indians are led to believe that it is

"just another BIA program."

Would a Head Start Program be Successful in the Potawatomi Community?

In my opinion, a Head Start program designed along the lines suggested in the Head Start information pamphlet would *not* work successfully. Programs requiring cooperation from the members of the community in the past have been unsuccessful. The Catholic Day-school program operated with apparent success because transportation, supervision, supplies, etc. were all supplied by the Catholic Church. Those few Indian mothers who did participate apparently did so because they were Catholics, not because they were Potawatomi. The payment of a considerable amount of Claims Case monies to the tribe has been delayed for several years through the legal efforts of members of the conservative faction, and programs of community development, including a scholarship fund, have had to be put off. The BIA recreation program, designed to benefit the Potawatomi children, was largely ignored by the Potawatomi adults.

I predict that there would be initial enthusiasm for a Head Start program among the Potawatomi which would wane rapidly as the necessity for cooperation and willing donation of time and effort increased. The net result of the program would be characteristic of so many programs designed to benefit the American Indians in the past: an outside agency would be doing something *for* the Indians, but not *with* the Indians. A cursory look at the history of our nation's "Indian programs" will show that the Indians themselves are only partially to blame for this seemingly inevitable reaction.

Do the Potawatomi Need a Head Start Program?

I remind the reader that I am not speaking as a teacher, public health expert, or psychologist when I say that in my opinion, the Potawatomi *do not* need a Head Start program. I have implied as much in some segments of the foregoing analysis, but I should now like to make my reasoning explicit: first, the home environment of most Potawatomi children is not as healthy as that of the average American family, but it is not therefore unhealthy. The diet is adequate in most cases I am aware of. There is exposure to the mass media of American civilization via television, radio, and occasional movies. There appears to be ample opportunity for children to play with other children, although in the pre-school age group Indian children play primarily with other Indian children.

Second, and most important for a consideration of the possibilities of the Head Start program, the Indian children seem to be as ready for school as the children of the local White farmers. They go to the same schools as the White children, compete with them in the class room (and apparently compete well), and understand what the teacher is saying as well as the White children do. The Potawatomi children today are not carted off to boarding school and taught by teachers hired by Civil Service; they do not suffer from the effects of *de facto* school segregation from the hard-nosed (and supposedly more "adequate") urban school systems.

Third, I get the impression from interviews with White teachers and the Potawatomi themselves that "the Indian problem" in the local school systems is not apparent until the sixth grade. I can find no evidence that Indian children start school in the surrounding towns with an intellectual or emotional handicap; nor can I see how a Head Start program would erase or alleviate the problems which seem to crop up six or seven years later, and often result in drop-out or expulsion.

Summary and Recommendations

In this report I have attempted to sketch out features of the Potawatomi reservation community which I think are of relevance to planning for a Head Start program. I have listed some of the problems that such a program would encounter, and I have offered possible solutions to these problems. In spite of my own belief that a Head Start program would not be successful with the Potawatomi, and that the community does not really need such a program, I have attempted to write the report in such a way that those not sharing my beliefs would have some basic information to aid them in their planning. Laying aside my own doubts about the necessity and functioning of a Head Start program, I will list in summary form my recommendations regarding its establishment and operation:

1. The program should be designed to include the children of low-income families of both the Potawatomi and Kickapoo Indian Reservations, as well as those of those other destitute families in the area within a twenty mile radius of the city of Holton, Kansas.

2. As a means of getting the program under way, a planning committee should be set up which includes the local Public Health Field Nurse in Holton, Kansas (Mrs. Ginzler), local members of the tribal Business Committee, at least one member of the conservative faction on the Potawatomi reservation, and a Vista worker who has had experience with American Indian groups. Please note that this recommendation is written with only the Potawatomi in mind; the Kickapoo tribe also has a tribal council and is beset with factional problems, and the planning committee would probably have to include representitives of the Kickapoo as well as other, non-Indian families who would share in the Head Start benefits.

3. The Vista volunteer should plan a long series of meetings with families eligible to participate in the program, designed to familiarize these families with the program and encourage their active participation. I suggest that a series of meetings with the individual families would be the best initial procedure, followed later by a series of group meetings.

Motivating the families to give their time and effort to the program looms as one of the most formidable and perplexing problems.

4. The planning committee should begin its activities as soon as possible. Meetings take time, and Indians often take even more time to make up their minds about a new program.

5. Care should be taken to include in the program only those families whose need is greatest. Few things can "stir up" the Potawatomi more quickly than rumors that the benefits of a program are being "skimmed off" by those who do not really need them. Rumors are to be expected in and Indian reservation community, but they can be harmful only if they cannot be refuted by fact.

6. In presenting the program to members of the Indian community, I suggest that the "up from the slums" theme be soft-pedalled. Although individual Indians may be willing to acknowledge the benefits of a program designed to better equip their children for school, they would resent comparison of their existence on the reservation with that of the big city slums. Also, I have found that just because the American Indian is a member of one of the nation's minority groups does not necessarily mean that he is free from prejudice against other racial and/or ethnic minorities.

7. The local office of the Bureau of Indian Affairs in Horton should be apprised of the program, and its cooperation and suggestions solicited. Care must be taken to avoid identification of the Head Start program with programs sponsored by the local Bureau, however.

8. Indian mothers should not be utilized as drivers in car pools. Although it involves greater expense, the safest and surest solution to the transportation problem would be to utilize the local school bus drivers and vehicles.

9. A hot, high-protein meal, and perhaps a juice or milk break, should be incorporated into the program. This would encourage parents to send their children to the center, and supplement the home diet of Indian children.

10. The planning committee should be aware of the possible disruptive influence of factionalism on both the Potawatomi and Kickapoo reservations. I know of no "pat" ways of avoiding such influence; in my own work I have found it helpful to avoid public committment to one or the other of the Potwawtomi factions and to behave as if the conflict is not important to me. I do, however, consider the threat of harmful influence from factionalism serious enough to recommend that members of both factions be included in the planning committee of possible (see #2).

I emphasize once again that I assume full responsibility for these recommendations, which are based on my own observations and interviews with both Indians and Whites and a sincere effort to appraise the situation objectively. Other analysts, in my own and other disciplines, might come to different conclusions and offer somewhat different recommendations. It is my hope that some of the problems and recommendations expressed here will be of some use to those wishing to set up a Head Start program, either with the Potawatomi or in other American Indian groups.

A List of Persons Who May Wish to Help

Mrs. Ginzler, Field Nurse US Public Health Field Station Holton, Kansas	
Mr. Frank Nioce, Jr. c/o Mr. Frank B. Nioce Hoyt, Kansas	(A member of the Potawatomi tribal Business Committee)
Mrs. Vestana Walker US Public Health Field Station Holton, Kansas	(A member of the progressive faction and past member of the Potawatomi Business Committee)
Mrs. Minnie Evans R.R. #2 Mayetta, Kansas	(An elderly leader of the conservative faction; unable to do much foot-work, but one of the opinion leaders on the reservation)
Mr. Buford Morrison Superintendent, Bureau of Indian Affairs Agency Horton, Kansas	
Miss Ann Searcy Department of Anthropology University of Kansas Lawrence, Kansas	(A student who has worked many weeks among the Potawatomi and who is particularly interested in the young and their development. Her training has been with Drs. Bert Kaplan and James Clifton. She is planning to leave K.U. to study elsewhere, beginning Spring Semester.)